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551 605 607 Only when he was also the brother-in-law was respect given to a cross-cousin or his name avoided. Female cross-cousins, despite affinal connections, were never so treated by the men.

Avunculate

604 522 [861] [431] The maternal uncle in Trumaí society was in no sense a disciplinarian. Only the father and the father's brother were allowed to strike a child. On the other hand, the gift-giving claims of the sister's son (*deta*) upon the mother's brother (*wawe*) were strong, and particularly so when they were reinforced by co-residence. A man was expected to be benevolent and tolerant toward his *deta*. This frequently took the form of teasing and jollying the boy, and contrasted with the more serious attitude of the father and his brothers. For instance, Yati told his *deta* that he and Quain were going to eat him, and, as if to carry out the threat, he began to drag him toward the fire. The child cried lustily, and Yati immediately stopped and cajoled him. Also, Katauka said to his *deta*, "When you die, I will not cry." Katauka was greatly amused when this caused tears.

Such teasing ceased by the time a boy reached the age of puberty. Moreover, the *wawe* became a defender of the *deta's* interests in the absence of the boy's father or father's brother, and, in some cases, he supervised his initiation ceremonies. Common to both the Trumaí and [437] Kamayurá was the traveling partnership of a man and his sister's son. [171] It was quite usual for a *wawe* to take his *deta* along when he visited another village. Quain noted that on such trips the wife of the older man was rarely included. This is consistent with the sexual taboo [835] between the nephew and the maternal uncle's wife.

The Chieftaincy

622 624 The Trumaí had one chieftain (*aek*), Maibu, and two sub-chiefs, Katauka and Matiwana. At the outset it should be understood that Katauka and Matiwana at no time during Quain's stay exerted any [988] chiefly prerogative or function. They were not men of especially high status — indeed, Matiwana was looked down upon as an old man. Their main function, Quain was told, was to take over the office of chief when Maibu was away from the village. Due to Matiwana's advanced age, this duty ordinarily fell to Katauka. Otherwise, neither man was particularly influential; nor did they talk more in the men's circle than others.

622 537 The chief's main function was to urge his fellow Trumaí to carry out those projects or tasks which were the responsibility of the community as a whole or in its interest, but he frequently exhorted the villagers to

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Among the eight boys below the ages of Autsuki and Jawaku there were no clearly organized groups. When outdoors they usually played in small groups of three or four, although nearly all would gather together occasionally for some special activity. The small groups were usually composed of age mates. Tsirikoan, the youngest, spent most of his time in the house, while the oldest boy, Muruta, was already drifting away from the others and spending more time with the men. Tay, an orphan boy of between ten and twelve years of age, was decidedly a misfit and did not join the others often. Of the remaining five, the three oldest were steady companions, while the two youngest either trailed them or stayed near their houses.

Despite the fact that the children were together frequently, there were no fast friendships or strong ties of loyalty and dependence. In this respect they were much like the men. Their play together was sporadic, and participation was fluid and shifting.

The only organized play in which the children indulged was wrestling. Matches were infrequent and usually broke up within fifteen minutes. All the boys turned out on such occasions except Tay, whose interests were abnormally directed toward homosexual play. The wrestling matches were a complete replica of the adult contests, the boys even sitting on the log in the men's circle (this was one of the few times they were permitted to do so). The adults never interfered. Usually they stood near the houses and watched the grappling with great amusement. When the wrestling involved boys of the village only, it was very informal and few pains were taken with their ornamentation. Each bout consisted of trying out some holds and grunting loudly in imitation of the men. The contests generally ended in a draw by mutual consent without any hostility being shown.

Most of the matches were between the older boys. But they also wrestled with the younger children. Even little Tsirikoan wrestled once. As he did not know what he was expected to do, he merely grunted and fell down. The bigger boys were very gentle with the little ones and tried only to teach them.

Just as the men were excited by the intertribal wrestling matches, the boys welcomed the chance to wrestle with boys from other tribes. This occurred regularly, since it was customary in the upper Xingú for a boy to travel with his maternal uncle. At one such time, a Kamayurá boy came to the Trumaí village and was invited to wrestle. The boys gathered in the men's circle after having carefully painted themselves and put on new arm and leg bands. The older boys wrestled the Kamayurá youngster in turn, but since he was bigger, he threw them easily. The Trumaí men watched from a distance, silently rooting for their own boys, but laughing loudly as each landed on his back, out of politeness to the visitors.

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881 the banks, while men crowded into a canoe. The reptile was located, but
866 instead of the one-foot diameter that it was at first said to have, it turned out to be only three inches thick. But, as Quain laconically observed, it was hungry. The men shouted at Jawaku to jump in the water and grab it.

The boy approached the reptile cautiously and with obvious fear. The
[136] anaconda, aroused, slithered through the water to the other side of the lagoon. Jawaku's unwillingness to fight was now apparent. There were shouts that he was frightened. These goads temporarily overcame his reluctance, and he waded through the water and grabbed the snake around the middle, lifting it out of the water. The anaconda began throwing its coils, while striking at the boy. In a panic, Jawaku stumbled blindly for the shore, tripped over a log, and released his hold on the snake. All the men shouted, "He's afraid!" as the crestfallen boy dragged himself out of the water and silently walked home.

That night, Maibu made a lengthy speech in which he absolved himself from any responsibility for Jawaku's cowardice. The next day another reptile was sighted, but Jawaku did not even bother to look at it.

881 On the other hand, Autsuki measured up to what was expected of him, and thus was able to continue the ritual that marked his maturation. Immediately upon the successful outcome of his struggle with an anaconda, he went to his house. He had now entered the seclusion phase
[604] of his puberty rites. Tun, his mother's brother, who was acting as next of kin, built a partition screening him off from the rest of the house. He was allowed nothing to eat but a medicinal preparation called *wyryx*, and he could leave his confinement to defecate only when everyone was asleep.

881 The seclusion period was to last until the ear-piercing festival which
304 was to be held several months later, but Autsuki was cheerful about it. In accordance with normal practice, he had his arms scraped shortly after he entered confinement, and he was also given the adult tonsure.

881 There remained only one more step in the cycle of initiation rites:
868 initiation into the shamanistic art of curing. Completion of this final
756 phase was necessary for full participation in the men's circle and for the privilege of smoking tobacco.[3] All of the uninitiated Trumaí youths
[076] knew how to smoke and occasionally did so, but the adults referred to
[195] this as "lying smoking." In order to "really" smoke it was necessary to have a ceremony performed by Matiwana. Exactly when this occurred is open to question, but ideally it was supposed to follow the final seclusion and ear-piercing. Aloari had not yet had the ceremony performed, although he was married and had a child. In his own words, he was still "too young." Aloari was evidently equating maturation with the puberty rites.

[3] Oberg (1953, p. 60) reports that uninitiated men may not smoke among the Kamayurá, either.

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tention of marriage. But an intention of marriage did not insure exclusive sexual rights. The man usually continued to get gratification wherever he could find it. The knowledge of his other liaisons did not particularly disturb his bride-to-be, as she herself may well have been receiving attentions from other lovers. After marriage, such transgressions were not so readily tolerated.

The chief obstacles in the way of the marriage-bent Trumaí swain were the necessity to shout down his rivals and gain the approval and consent of the girl's kinsmen. The woman's consent was not necessary in making the marriage, and she usually remained aloof, waiting to see who won. If, however, she was not pleased with the mate to whom she was awarded, she was free to leave him. And this she often did. While Quain was in the village, there were marriages that lasted only a day or two due to the bride's dissatisfaction.

In addition to the arguments that precede most marriages, the man was expected to go through certain formalities. He went to the girl's mother and stated his intentions. If the girl had no mother, he approached the nearest male relative. In order to gain the favor of her kinsmen, he distributed gifts, the most important to the girl's mother, others to her father, siblings, and her mother's brother. The gift to the latter was especially important, as he was the one who formally gave the woman, or as the Trumaí phrase it, "spreads her legs." Gifts were also given the girl, culminating with a present of fish. In the meantime the girl made an especially fine hammock which she gave to the groom.

If everything was accepted, the man was free to take the girl to his house. The wedding was preceded by a fishing expedition in which nearly all the men participated, and by a wrestling match for which the groom was beautifully painted. The women held a trade game. The actual ceremony consisted of nothing more than the woman's moving into the house of her mate. A male relative carried her hammock to his home.

This was the way weddings should have been conducted in the Trumaí village. Actually, they were even less formal, especially in the case of second wives in polygamous unions. Marriage and sex preoccupied the Trumaí, for there were not enough women to go around; but even the few formal acts involved interested the Trumaí little. If the marriage was durable, the couple settled down and had children. After marriage and the birth of children no great change occurred in their positions in the community until they reached old age.

Old Age

Everyone in the village was classified as "younger" or "older." The men were either *axosek* (younger) or *tdakek* (older), while the terms for the women were, respectively, *axosekiss* and *tdakits*. These were not age